DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 323 154 SO 030 205

AUTHOR Pallasch, Brian Thomas
TITLE Making United States Foreign Policy...The Process...The Role of the Citizen. Resource Packet.
INSTITUTION Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE May 90
NOTE 37p.; Citizen Education and Peace Project.
AVAILABLE FROM Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, 1724 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036 ($5.00).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner) (051) -- Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Citizenship Education; Citizenship Responsibility; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; *History Instruction; Instructional Materials; Secondary Education; Social Studies; *United States History

ABSTRACT

This resource packet is designed to provide teachers and civic educators with an understanding of the making of U.S. foreign policy. The materials may be used as the basis for classes and programs to teach about foreign policy and cover such topics as: (1) how foreign policy is made in the United States; (2) the role of the president, the executive branch, and of Congress; (3) selected past foreign policy decisions and the role of the President, the executive branch, and the Congress had in the making of the decisions; and (4) how a citizen can have an effect on the foreign policy process, and become involved in the process. The material provided includes program and curriculum ideas, discussion questions, a reading list, resources, and organizations with related resources. (NL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED323154

Citizenship Education and Peace Project

A project of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
supported by the United States Institute of Peace

Making United States Foreign Policy

...the process
...the role of the citizen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
BRIAN THOMAS PALLASCH
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RESOURCE PACKET

May 1990

Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
1724 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 857-0580

SO 020 205

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Making United States Foreign Policy

...the process
...the role of the citizen

Council for the
Advancement of
Citizenship

This Resource Packet is produced by the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship (CAC) as a component of the Citizenship Education and Peace Project, with support from the United States Institute of Peace. It is designed to provide teachers, community leaders, and other civic educators with an introduction to and an understanding of the making of United States foreign policy. It is also intended to be used as a companion piece to **CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education**, a new civic education curriculum resource designed to serve as a blueprint from which teachers, curriculum developers, administrators and community leaders can develop civic education materials, courses, programs and curricula to enhance civic literacy in the United States. **CIVITAS**, a collaborative project of CAC and the Center for Civic Education, supported by The Pew Charitable Trusts, will be published in winter, 1990.

The Council hopes that this packet will be disseminated widely and that it will be used as the basis for classes and programs designed to stimulate understanding of the making of U.S. foreign policy. In particular, the packet should help citizens to:

- understand and explain how foreign policy is made in the United States;
- understand and explain the role of the President, and executive branch agencies;
- understand and explain the role of Congress;
- understand and explain the role of citizens, interest groups, business and labor unions and the media in the making of foreign policy;
- examine selected past foreign policy decisions, including the roles that each of the above groups had in the making of these decisions;
- find out where they can have an effect on the foreign policy process, and become involved in the process through a community or national group that directs its efforts in that manner.

This Packet was prepared by Brian Thomas Pallasch, Project Coordinator, CAC's Citizenship Education and Peace Project.

The opinions, findings, conclusions and materials found in this packet are those of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship or the United States Institute of Peace.

© 1990, Council for the Advancement of Citizenship

Citizenship Education and Peace Resource Packet

Making United States Foreign Policy

...the process
...the role of the citizen

Table of Contents

I. Introduction 1

II. Selected Readings 9

The Making of United States Foreign Policy 9
An excerpt from *International Relations: Understanding the Behavior of Nations*, by the Close Up Foundation

At Issue: Presidential Authority to Declare War 14
An excerpt from *Making Foreign Policy*
Congressional Quarterly Inc.

Conflict Between Congress and the President in Making Foreign Policy 16
An excerpt from "Executive-Congressional Conflict in Foreign Policy: Explaining It, Coping With It," in *Congress Reconsidered*
I.M. Destler

Societal Sources of American Foreign Policy 20
An excerpt from *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*
Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf

Private Interventions in Foreign Policy 21
An excerpt from *Kettering Review*, Winter 1983
Landrum Bolling

III. Discussion Questions 25

IV. Program and Curriculum Ideas 27
...for schools
...for youth programs
...for community programs
...for higher education

V. Suggested Readings and Other Materials 29

VI. Organizations with Related Resources 33

Making United States Foreign Policy

... the process
... the role of the citizen

I. Introduction

In a democracy the People are entitled to determine the Ends or general aims of foreign policy. History shows that they do this at least as wisely as monarchs or oligarchies, or the small groups to whom, in democratic countries, the conduct of foreign relations has been left, and that they have envinced more respect for moral principles.

–Lord James Bryce
***Modern Democracies* (1921)**

As soon as several Americans have conceived a sentiment or an idea that they want to produce before the world, they seek each other out, and when found, they unite. Thenceforth they are no longer isolated individuals, but a power conspicuous from the distance whose actions serve as an example; when it speaks, men listen.

–Alexis de Tocqueville
***Democracy in America* (1835-9)**

The process of making foreign policy is an extremely important component of citizenship education. In order for citizens to effectively influence foreign policy they must understand the process by which it is made. Knowledge of the process, and how to get involved, gives citizens the skills to begin thinking critically about the United States and its role in international affairs.

This packet, **Making United States Foreign Policy**, examines this process, and suggests ways the citizen can effectively participate. There are four main groups, or circles, that influence the making of United States foreign policy (see diagram):

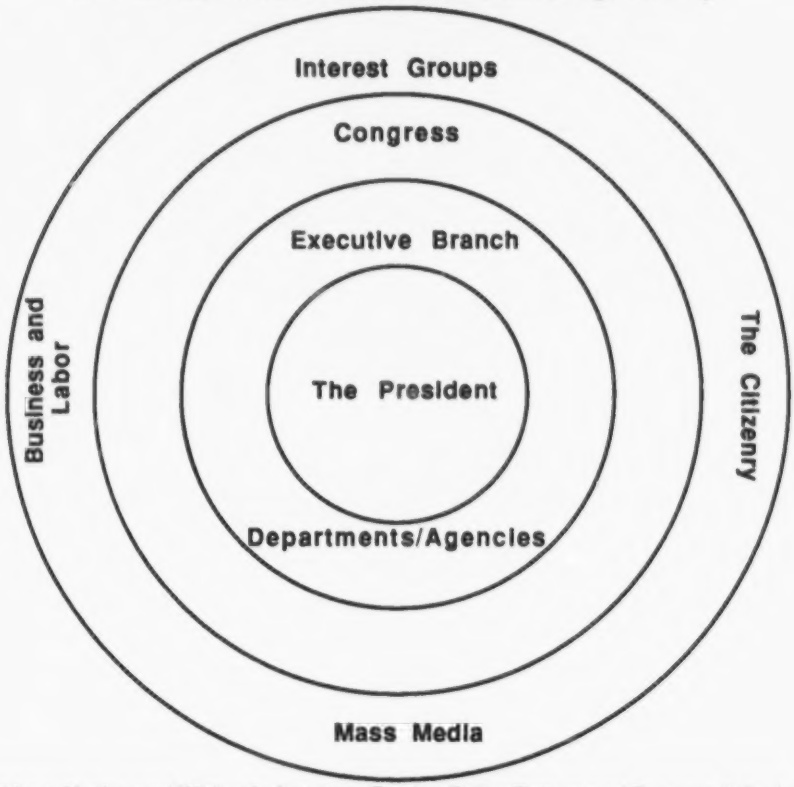
- the President;
- Executive Branch agencies;
- Congress; and
- the Citizenry/non-governmental actors (citizens, interest groups and the media).

In this model, power is concentrated at the center, in the Presidency. The outer circles symbolize major inputs in the foreign policy making process, with declining degrees of influence for groups further from the center. All of these groups interpret events and actions and arrive at their own idea of a proper foreign policy. The executive branch agencies influence the

process because they are the source of ideas, information and recommendations on which policies are made.

Congress and non-governmental groups rarely arrive at a consensus on what foreign policy should be on a given issue. There are as many different opinions in Congress, as there are among groups trying to influence Congress, so that if legislation is necessary it is usually the result of many compromises.

The Concentric Circles Model of Foreign Policy



*Adapted from Kegley and Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy Pattern and Process*, 3rd ed, 1987, p. 335

The same is true of non-governmental groups. This was the case during the debate about U.S. aid to the "Contras," as their critics called them, or "Freedom Fighters," as President Reagan called them, in Nicaragua throughout most of the 1980s. Most conservative interest groups worked hard to gain financial and military support for the insurgency, while many liberal and church groups worked against support. Similarly, in the question of U.S. aid to El Salvador, some groups call the government a fledgling democracy, while others accuse it of complicity with military death squads.

The Constitution of the United States gives the president the primary but not exclusive role in making and executing foreign policy. Since the ratification of the Constitution there has been a struggle between the

executive and legislative branches over the scope and degree of Congressional participation in policy making.

The President

The Constitution provides the president with three powers which enable him to construct and follow through on his foreign policy agenda:

- to negotiate treaties;
- to appoint government officials, and;
- to conduct war.

The president and his representatives negotiate treaties and other international agreements (such as arms control agreements) with foreign governments to end wars, control weapons, regulate international commerce, combat pollution, and to resolve a variety of other bilateral, multilateral and global issues. Of these, only treaties must be submitted to the Senate for approval. Recent presidents have relied increasingly on executive agreements which are international accords that under Constitutional interpretations of the Supreme Court do not require Senate approval.

Also, the president appoints ambassadors and other top officials. This allows the president to select people, with viewpoints similar to his, as representatives of his administration in foreign affairs.

While, the Constitution specifies that only Congress can declare war, it also provides that the president is Commander-in-Chief of the armed services. In every instance since World War II where the U.S. military has engaged in combat, including Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, the bombing of Libya, and the recent invasion of Panama, there has been no declaration of war. However, in the cases of Korea and Vietnam there was implied consent from Congress because it appropriated money to fight the war. At the end of the Vietnam War, Congress passed the War Powers Act, which severely limits (on paper) the president's power to send U.S. troops into combat for long periods.

Executive Branch Agencies

As the world becomes more interdependent, and foreign contacts increase, the amount of time and personnel needed to maintain and promote relations with governments and publics abroad has grown. This has resulted in an increased role in almost all executive branch agencies in foreign affairs.

The Department of State is the primary agency responsible for the official conduct of U.S. foreign relations. State's activities include the following: treaty negotiations; representation of the U.S. to more than four dozen international organizations, and to more than 160 governments; policy recommendations to the president, and steps to implement policy on a wide range of foreign policy interests.

Intelligence agencies, such as the Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, and Defense Intelligence Agency, are also key sources of information for the president in the foreign policy decision making process.

With the increasingly interdependent world economy, the executive departments responsible for economic policy have become more active in foreign affairs. The Treasury Department has primary responsibility for domestic and international financial and fiscal policy. Treasury also oversees U.S. participation in multilateral financial institutions including: International Monetary Fund; World Bank; Inter-American Development Bank; Asian Development Bank; and African Development Bank.

The United States Trade Representative (USTR) and the Department of Commerce are two other executive agencies responsible for economic policy. The USTR has responsibility for trade policy development; while the Department of Commerce implements policy. Through the Foreign Commercial Service, the Department of Commerce maintains a trade representation and trade promotion presence overseas, and has increased its role in foreign affairs.

The crucial role of managing and integrating the flow of information and recommendations from all these agencies to the president is filled by the National Security Council, made up of the Secretaries of the principal foreign affairs departments and chaired by the president himself or his National Security Advisor.

Congress

Congress, like the president, is given certain powers over foreign policy in the Constitution (Article I, Section 8). Congress has a number of basic powers in foreign policy:

- to control spending;
- to approve treaties;
- to declare war;
- to confirm presidential nominations;
- to regulate commerce with foreign nations; and,
- to establish the structure of the armed forces.

Congress can increase or decrease military spending, through the budgetary process. This "power of the purse" gives Congress a varying amount of influence on foreign policy. Congress used this type of influence when aid to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua was debated throughout the 1980s. Some members of Congress tried to use the same tactics to stop U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the early 1970s, but these measures were not as successful. Foreign aid, both economic and military, is another area where the "power of the purse" gives the Congress an effective voice in policy.

Treaties negotiated by the president can only bind the United States if the Senate approves them by a two–thirds vote. The significance of this

Congressional power has decreased in importance in this century because presidents have increasingly used executive agreements to side–step the Senate. However, major international agreements with long-term effects still require the treaty procedure which the Senate can sometimes utilize to force the president to renegotiate elements of a proposed treaty. For example, the Panama Canal Treaty, debated in 1978, was amended in various ways before Senate approval.

Senate "advice and consent" is also a prerequisite to the appointment of high-ranking positions in the federal government, including ambassadorships. The nominations are sometimes held up or even rejected by the Senate to show displeasure with the president's choice or with a policy decision. Donald Gregg, President Bush's nominee for Ambassador to South Korea was blocked for many months, for example, due to Gregg's alleged involvement in the Iran–Contra Affair. Although Gregg's nomination was finally approved, the Senate effectively demonstrated its displeasure with the President's choice.

Congress also sometimes adopts non-binding resolutions on foreign policy issues, thus making the president aware of Congress' opinion on a specific issue. More severe measures are sometimes adopted, such as the cutting off of foreign aid to a country which has incurred Congressional displeasure, for example by abusing human rights.

In 1985, Congress, with the pressure of interest groups behind it, effectively pressed the Reagan administration to adopt economic sanctions against the South African government to protest its policy of apartheid. The Reagan administration opposed the sanctions on the ground that quiet diplomacy would be more effective in achieving change in South Africa. Congress, however, succeeded and sanctions were adopted.

Finally, in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, Congress is given the power "To regulate Commerce with foreign nations," "To raise and support Armies,"and "To provide and maintain a Navy." These provisions allow Congress, with Presidential approval, to levy tariffs, quotas, and other sanctions on imported goods. As a result of these provisions, Congress not only may utilize the power of the purse over the armed forces, but also has responsibility for their creation, and structure.

The Citizenry

Due to the many centers of policy making that compose the American political system and the wonders of modern communication, multiple points of access for the citizenry to affect foreign policy are available. The "citizenry" as used here includes:

- interest groups;
- the media;
- business and labor unions; and
- the general public.

Interest Groups

Depending on the issue, educational organizations, ethnic groups, single-interest groups, and humanitarian and refugee assistance groups organize to alter the making of United States foreign policy.

Respected educational organizations, such as the Foreign Policy Association, United Nations Association, Close Up Foundation, League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and many others, influence policy through their activities which inform and in some cases mobilize civic leadership opinion. Because they are perceived as middle of the road, non-partisan and authoritative in their educational materials and programs, they are also effective in increasing the level and quality of citizen participation in the democracy.

Because of the racial and ethnic diversity that exists in the United States ethnic groups have often played an important role in policy decisions. The particularly effective and astute American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is, for example, able to translate high Jewish voter participation, and concentration in urban areas in states with large electoral votes, into significant political influence on behalf of Israel. The Greek lobby has also been successful in its efforts to limit U.S. aid to its traditional enemy, Turkey. The Cuban American National Foundation, as former refugees from Castro's Cuba have become more politically assimilated, has been instrumental in the creation of Radio Marti and TV Marti. Other ethnic groups are equally effective in advocating their own concerns.

During the last decade, single interest groups seem to have become more influential in affecting policy making. Like ethnic groups, these groups often exert influence on foreign policy but their common interest is an idea or a set of ideas rather than a point of view based on a shared heritage. Groups such as Amnesty International, SANE/FREEZE, and World Without War Council, organize and represent the views of like minded civic, business, social and academic leaders as well as the general public so as to influence foreign policy decisions. Often the issue itself serves as the catalyst for the formation of such groups. This was the case with groups that were formed to protest U.S. aid to the government of El Salvador and the "Contras" in Nicaragua.

Humanitarian and refugee assistance groups, such as Catholic Relief Services, CARE, and International Rescue Committee are another category of nonprofit groups which depend on the support of the citizenry, in this case to enable them to express American public concern for suffering abroad. By involving citizens in assisting the less fortunate abroad they also educate.

Perhaps more than any other people, Americans, as de Tocqueville observed a century and a half ago, spontaneously organize to press a common view of any public issue at the drop of a hat.

Mass Media

Mass media (television, radio, and print) serve two major functions in policy making. First, the media are the public's main source of information concerning foreign affairs. Second, they are a major source of information on foreign policy issues for the policy makers. "The mass communications industry may be hypothesized to play a central role in the process of policy formulation because (1) public moods related to policies are influenced (some would say created) by the information disseminated to the public through the communications network, and (2) the behavior of policy makers themselves is affected by the image of the world conveyed by the mass media."[1]

The media serve as "gatekeepers" by selecting what is reported, by emphasizing some stories over others, and by the manner in which events are reported. The second role of the media is to provide the policy makers with a picture of what is happening abroad and at home with regard to a particular policy issue. This picture at least supplements what they learn through official channels and may sometimes be of overriding importance. The third role in an open society, like ours, is to inform and excite public opinion. For example, what the public learns from the media, whether it coincides with the official view or not, sometimes directly affects the U.S. approach to the issue. Therefore, most policy makers read at least one or more major newspapers each morning, and watch at least one or more national news programs in the evening. As the world becomes more interdependent the role of the media is increasingly critical.

Citizens must learn to use the media intelligently and critically so as to be able to place individual developments in context and separate fact from opinion. A letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine provides any citizen with a chance to influence others by a well expressed opinion on a foreign policy issue.

Business and Labor Unions

Business is another important influence on American foreign and national security policy. For example, more than 500 companies, such as IBM, and Ford, maintain legislative liaison offices in Washington, DC. This number does not include the large number of trade and professional associations, such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, or the National Association of Manufacturers, operating in the nation's capital. In addition, specific industries, such as oil, automotive, steel, and military/defense have an impact on policy-making. Labor organizations, such as AFL/CIO, National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers also exert, on behalf of their members, significant influence on U.S. foreign policy. At the present time, increasing world economic interdependence has caused some business and labor groups to become more vocal with calls for the protection of the American economy against foreign competition.

---

[1]Kegley, and Wittkopf, Op. Cit., p. 315

General Public

Finally, the American public at large plays a significant role in the making of foreign policy. By and large, judging by public opinion polls, the majority of the public in the United States has supported the major thrusts of United States foreign policy since World War II. There exists, however, a serious question as to how interested, or informed the public is about foreign affairs issues.

Many instances do, however, exist where the public has clearly affected the making of foreign policy. The controversy over the the Vietnam War is an example of public influence on decision makers. As the public's early support changed to increasing opposition under the influence of television reporting of the war and the efforts of various interest groups, a number of policy makers began to oppose the war. A recent example of public pressure influencing foreign policy is the public's outcry against the apartheid government of South Africa. Public sentiment, effectively focused through the activities of a myriad of interest groups, played a major role in forcing President Reagan to accept Congressional economic sanctions against the South African Government. In addition, some U.S. companies sold their investments in South Africa, and some U.S. universities divested their investments of companies with holdings in South Africa in response to public and interest group pressures.

Citizens have always been able to alter U.S. foreign policy when enough of them have become sufficiently mobilized, and this is probably more so today than ever before. This influence is most effectively exercised through interest groups that, because of their resources and skills, can effectively represent the views of their constituencies, as seen in the examples above. Participating in such activities also increases citizen knowledge about foreign policy issues and helps to develop critical thinking tools that enable the formation of an informed opinion. The group process is the key to citizen influence on the foreign policy process.

II. Selected Readings

The articles which follow address several different facets of the making of United States foreign policy. It is recommended that these articles, along with the preceding Introduction, *be distributed to students and community groups to provide a common basis for participation in classroom and community discussions.*

In the first article, the Close Up Foundation offers a brief systematic view of the foreign policy making process at work in the United States government.

The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy

by the Close Up Foundation*

The US Constitution leaves considerable room for argument over foreign policy authority. This 200-year old document splits the power to determine foreign policy between the president and Congress. Although the Constitution lists some specific powers that the president and Congress each have, constitutional scholars say that there is no clear answer to the question of whether the president or Congress should be more influential. Nevertheless, most of the initiative is in the president's hands.

Since the founding of the nation, the executive and legislative branches of government have fought with each other over control of our relations with other countries. In some eras, the president has been dominant, while at other times the Congress has been more powerful. One expert has called the Constitution "an invitation to struggle" over foreign policy.

The President

The president is the single most important person in the making of foreign policy. The president sets the agenda for foreign policy, and Congress must react to it. The most important powers given to the president by the Constitution in regard to foreign policy are to conduct war, to make treaties and other international agreements, and to appoint ambassadors and other top officials.

Powers of the President

Conduct War. The president is Commander-in-Chief of all US military forces. As such, the president can use the armed forces to advance US foreign policy goals. Although the Constitution gives Congress the right to declare war, presidents do not need a war declaration to order the military into battle. None of the military conflicts fought by the United States since World War II--including the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the invasion

---

* Excerpted with permission from *International Relations: Understanding the Behavior of Nations* (Washington, DC: Close Up Foundation, 1988), pp.22-30.

of Grenada, and the bombing of Libya--involved a declaration of war. All were ordered by the president without the formal approval of Congress.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, the president has been given another awesome responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the military. Only the president can order a nuclear attack by the United States.

Make Treaties and Other International Agreements. The president and his representatives negotiate agreements with other nations to end wars, control weapons, regulate international trade, and resolve other global issues. One type of agreement--treaties--must be submitted to the Senate for approval before it can go into effect. In recent years, presidents frequently have used *executive agreements*, international agreements that do not require Senate approval. Such agreements allow the president and his advisors to work out agreements with other governments without having to worry whether the Senate will accept them.

Appoint Ambassadors and Other Top Officials. It is important for presidents to be served by people who agree with their general approach to foreign policy. Presidents often have rewarded people who supported their presidential election campaigns by appointing them to be ambassadors. At times, the appointment of ambassadors can also help promote the president's domestic political agenda.

Presidential Decisionmaking. Although the president is the ultimate decisionmaker, much of his responsibility is delegated to the White House staff because of the vast number of decisions that must be made daily.

The president is surrounded by personal aides, many of whom may have been political supporters before the president was elected. These aides help the president sort through many competing demands. They advise the president on the political and economic consequences of foreign policy decisions. These aides may also try to change the president's mind, but his authority is final within the executive branch.

The vice president may be an important advisor to the president and frequently represents the president on visits to other countries. But the vice president has little power over foreign policy other than what the president allows.

The National Security Council is the organization within the White House that coordinates foreign policy. Chaired by the president, it is often the body that shapes the US response to a foreign policy crisis. Sometimes the national security advisor, who oversees the functioning of the Council, is a strong personality with close ties to the president. in that case, the Council can be the most important foreign policy body in the whole government. For example, during President Richard Nixon's first term, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger was seen by many as being more powerful than Secretary of State William Rogers.

Outside the White House, the two most important agencies in determining foreign policy are the Department of State and the Department of Defense. The departments are headed by departmental secretaries and other top officials appointed by the president. They are political supporters of the president, and generally agree with the president's foreign policy goals.

However, the secretaries and officials also support the interests and orientations of their own departments. This may bring the secretary of state and the secretary of defense into conflict with one another, as the two departments compete to persuade the president to adopt different policies. Frequently, the State Department may favor a diplomatic approach to a problem--an outlook influenced by its need to work with other governments. But Defense Department officials may favor strategies that emphasize military force.

Policies decided by the president and his top advisors are carried out by the government bureaucracy. Most bureaucrats are civil service employees who stay with the government regardless of changes in presidential administrations. The most important foreign policy bureaucracy is the Foreign Service, the elite corps of professional diplomats who hold many important positions in embassies abroad. These officials are supposed to support the current administration's policies. However, diplomats sometimes personally disagree with these policies and may seek to alter or delay the course favored by the president in hopes that the next president will adopt a different policy. Supporters of a president frequently complain that the permanent foreign policy bureaucrats are not working hard enough to carry out the administration's policies.

A key source of the president's ability to make foreign policy decisions is his access to information. Intelligence agencies--such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and the National Security Agency (NSA)--provide information to the president that is not readily available to Congress.

In recent decades, intelligence agencies have become increasingly important. They are responsible for evaluating the strength of another country's military force and for predicting what other countries intend to do. Intelligence agencies engage in secret spying operations as well as analyze publicly available information. In addition, they may be asked to engage in *covert*, or secret, activities--actions that US leaders do not want to be publicly identified with, but which they feel are necessary to the success of a particular policy objective.

Congress

The Constitution gives Congress a number of ways to influence the direction of foreign policy. Under the Constitution, Congress has the power to declare war, control spending, approve treaties and confirm presidential nominations, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy.

Powers of Congress

Declare War. Although the Constitution puts the president in charge of military operations, it gives Congress the right to put the nation into a formal state of war. However, this right has become less important over the years, as presidents have engaged in hostilities without asking Congress for a formal declaration of war.

Congress' frustration over its declining control over military conflicts led to the passage of the War Powers Act. When the act was passed in 1973, President Richard Nixon vetoed the bill, although Congress overrode his veto. Since that time, presidents have continued to view the War Powers Act as an attack on the constitutional authority of the commander-in-chief.

The War Powers Act establishes limits on presidential use of the armed forces. Under the law, the president is allowed to commit US troops to battle for only sixty days. To go beyond that point, the president must persuade Congress to pass a resolution supporting continued use of troops.

Control Spending. The Constitution gives Congress "the power of the purse." Congress has used that power in recent years to influence policy by providing--or refusing to provide--funds for programs supported by the president. For example, during the early 1970s, members of Congress who opposed the war in Vietnam sought to cut off funds for continuation of the war. In the 1980s, after heated debate, Congress alternately approved and rejected President Reagan's requests for money to help support *contra* forces fighting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

Foreign aid is one of the most frequent targets of Congress' power to control spending. For many years, Senators and representatives have complained about foreign aid, arguing that aid given to other countries would be better spent at home. Congress frequently acts to reduce the president's request for foreign aid, which may include both economic aid (projects to help poor countries expand their economies) and military aid (military equipment and training for the armed forces of friendly nations).

Approve Treaties and Confirm Presidential Nominations. The Constitution gives the power to approve treaties and the power to confirm presidential nominations only to the Senate, not to the House of Representatives. Treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate. However, the right to "advise and consent" to treaties has become less important in recent decades. Presidents have made many executive agreements to avoid having to seek Senate approval for their international agreements.

The Senate rarely rejects a treaty outright. Fewer than two dozen treaties have been defeated in the nation's history. If opposition to a treaty is strong, however, presidents may elect to withdraw them from Senate consideration rather than risk a political defeat.

The Senate also has the power to amend treaties. During the debate over the Panama Canal treaty in 1978, the Senate made important changes in the agreement worked out with the government of Panama, including a

provision allowing the United States to use military force to keep the Canal open after it was transferred to the Panamanians.

Confirming the president's appointment of foreign [policy officials is another power of the Senate. In some cases, members of the Senate may oppose a nomination as a way of criticizing the president's policies.

Pass Laws or Resolutions Stating a Specific Policy. The Constitution grants Congress the power to pass legislation directing the president on foreign policy matters. These can range from simple expressions of congressional opinion (e.g., calling for support of anti-Soviet guerillas in Afghanistan) to detailed blueprints for foreign aid programs.

Sometimes, however, the main effect of the bill can be to pressure a president to change a bill. In 1985, for example, a majority of both the House and Senate favored enactment of tough new sanctions against the racial apartheid policies of South Africa's white minority government. President Reagan opposed the sanctions, instead favoring diplomatic pressure to persuade the South Africans to change their policies. Faced with congressional passage of legislation to impose the sanctions, however, Reagan agreed to impose his own set of sanctions.

Congressional Decisionmaking

Congress deals with foreign policy issues quite differently from the way the executive branch does. Unlike the executive branch, where one person, the president, has the final authority over all decisions, power in Congress is spread out. Many different congressional committees can affect foreign policy. Decisionmaking in Congress can be slow and cumbersome, and many members think the legislative process is ill-suited to the rapid changes that take place in international relations.

Two committees--the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee--have formal authority over foreign policy issues. However, the prestige and power of the two panels have lessened in recent years as other committees have asserted influence over important foreign policy issues. For example, the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate can exercise control over foreign aid programs through their power to write annual funding bills for the government. The Armed Services Committees can influence arms negotiations and decisions to make military commitments to other countries. The House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee can affect international trade by approving legislation to raise or lower import tariffs. The House and Senate Intelligence Committees, which oversee the CIA and other intelligence agencies, can act to block certain covert activities. Members of Congress can also call for special hearings to examine an administration's foreign policy programs. Hearings are sometimes used as a forum to criticize a president or a policy. In 1987, The House and Senate held joint hearings to probe the Reagan administration's conduct of foreign policy in Central America.

Traditionally, members of Congress have tried to put aside party differences and present a common front when dealing with other countries. Members of Congress frequently say that "politics stop at the water's edge." However, each of the 535 members of Congress has his or her own ideas about how foreign policy should be conducted. Individual members of Congress often seek to influence foreign policy by mobilizing public support for their views.

* * *

The reading below, presents the views of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, two of the founding fathers, regarding the president's power to declare war. This allows the reader to see the historical context in which some of these ideas formed.

At Issue
In foreign policy, does the president have any authority to declare war or peace?

by Congressional Quarterly Inc.*

Yes, said Alexander Hamilton. "The inquiry then is, what department of our government is the proper one to make a declaration of neutrality, when the engagements of the nation permit, and its interests require that it should be done?[2]

A correct mind will discern at once, that it can belong neither to the legislative nor the judicial department, of course [it] must belong to the executive.

The legislative department is not the *organ* of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations. . . .

The second article of the Constitution of the United States, section first, establishes this general proposition, that 'the executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America.' . . .

The general doctrine of our Constitution then is, that the *executive power* of the nation is vested in the president; subject only to the *exceptions* and *qualifications* which are expressed in the [Constitution]. . .

---

* Excerpted with permission from *Making Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1988) p.10.

[2] In 1793, with Congress out of session, President George Washington declared the United Sates neutral in the war between France and England. In a series of articles in the *Gazette of the United States*, Alexander Hamilton writing as "Pacificus," defended the president's action. James Madison, writing as "Helvidius" responded.

The right of the executive to receive ambassadors. . . includes that of judging, in the case of a revolution of government in a foreign country, whether the new rulers are competent organs of the national will, and ought to be recognized, or not. . .

This serves as an example of the right of the executive, in certain cases, to determine the condition of the nation, though it may, in its consequences, affect the exercise of the power of the legislative to declare war. . . . The legislature is still free to perform its duties, according to its own sense of them; though the executive in its exercise of its constitutional powers may establish an antecedent state of things, which ought to weigh in the legislative decisions. . .

While, therefore, the legislature can alone declare war, can alone actually transfer the nation from a state of peace to a state of hostility, it belongs to the 'executive power' to do whatever else the law of nations, cooperating with the treaties of the country, enjoin in the intercourse of the United States with foreign powers. . . .

But though it has been thought advisable to vindicate the authority of the executive on this broad and comprehensive ground, it was not absolutely necessary to do so. That clause of the Constitution which makes it his duty to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' might alone have been relied upon, and this simple process of argument pursued."

No, said James Madison. "[U]nder color of vindicating an important public act of a chief magistrate who enjoys the confidence and love of his country, principles are advanced which strike at the vitals of the Constitution. . . .

Those who are to *conduct a war* [the executive as the commander-in-chief] cannot in the nature of things, be proper of safe judges, whether *a war ought* to be *commenced, continued*, or *concluded*. They are barred from the latter functions by a great principle in free government, analogous to that which separates the sword from the purse, or the power of executing from the the power of enacting laws. . . .

A concurrent authority in two independent departments, to perform the same function with respect to the same thing, would be as awkward in practice, as it is unnatural in theory.

If the legislature and executive have both a right to judge of the obligations to make a war or not, it must sometimes happen . . . that they will judge differently. . . .

The power of the legislature to declare war, and judge of the causes for declaring it, is one of the most express and explicit parts of the Constitution. To endeavor to abridge or affect it by strained inferences, and by hypothetical or singular occurrences, naturally warns the reader of some lurking fallacy. . . .

In no part of the Constitution is more wisdom to be found than in the clause which confides the question of war or peace to the legislature, and not to the executive department. . . .War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement. In war, a physical force is to be created; and it is the executive will, which is to direct it in war. In war, the public treasures are to be unlocked; and it is the executive hand which is to dispense them. In war, the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied; and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. it is in war, finally, that laurels are to be gathered; and it is the executive brow they are to encircle. The strongest passions and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast; ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venial love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace.

Hence it has grown into an axiom that the executive is the department of power most distinguished by its propensity to war: hence it is the practice of all states, in proportion as they are free, to disarm this propensity. . . . "

* * *

In this excerpt, I.M. Destler details the ongoing conflict that exists between the executive and legislative branches in the making of United States foreign policy.

Executive - Congressional Conflict In Foreign Policy: Explaining It, Coping With It

by I.M. Destler*

Throughout most of the post-war period, the general attitude of foreign-policy minded Americans toward Congressional influence could be summarized in four words: "the less, the better." As one careful critique of the academic literature put it, presidents were seen as "formulating bold and forward-looking new policies for the nation, while an unimaginative Congress . . . appeared to be hindering those efforts and defending parochial interests."[3] Practitioners shared this attitude. Even as the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright (D-Ariz.), wondered in 1961 whether congressional influence on foreign policy was not greater than the country could afford. He found it

> highly unlikely that we can successfully execute a long-range program for the taming, or containing, of today's aggressive revolutionary forces by continuing to leave vast and vital decision-

---

* Excerpted with permission from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from "Executive Congressional Conflict in Foreign Policy: Explaining It, Coping With It," in *Congress Reconsidered*, 3rd Ed., edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I Oppenheimer, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985.

[3] Victor C. Johnson, "Congress and Foreign Policy: The House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975), pp. 33-34

> making power in the hands of a decentralized, independent-minded, and largely parochial-minded body of legislators. The Congress, as Woodrow Wilson put it, is a "disintegrated ministry," a jealous center of power with a built-in antagonism for the Executive.[4]

After all this of course came Vietnam. Beginning around 1965, Senators like Fulbright led the foreign policy community to rediscovery of the value of checks on executive power.[5] After Richard Nixon ordered US troops into Cambodia in 1970, 13 executive-oriented Harvard scholars made a pilgrimage to Washington, DC to endorse congressional actions against the president, expressing what one of them termed a "dramatic shift in views I have held dramatically and deeply with regard to the efficacy of Congressional action designed to restrain presidential discretion in national security affairs.[6] Years of struggle led to action in 1973: the War Powers Resolution establishing a more explicit Congressional role in the commitment of American troops overseas; the prohibition of further US bombing of Indochina. Then hard upon Vietnam came Watergate, where millions of Americans again looked to the Congress to deliver them from what executive power had wrought. Building on this momentum, the Congress of the mid-seventies moved effectively into a range of issues--linking improved US - Soviet trade relations to free emigration of Soviet Jews; embargoing arms aid to Turkey after its invasion of Cyprus; prohibiting clandestine US involvement in Angola. And Congress also established new procedural vehicles for policy influence, including the right of legislative veto on executive arms sales and import relief decisions.[7]

Yet even before the decade ended, much of the bloom had left the Congressional rose.[8] It took an enormous Carter administration effort to get the "parochial-minded" Senate to ratify the Panama Canal treaties in 1978 and to get the even more parochial House to pass implementing legislation. In 1979, the Congress approved the comprehensive multilateral trade agreements submitted by the president, but his strategic arms

---

[4] J. William Fulbright, "American Foreign Policy in the 20th Century Under an 18th Century Constitution," *Cornell Law Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1962):7

[5] Compare, for example, the above-cited article with "Congress and Foreign Policy" written by J. William Fulbright in July, 1974. This later article appeared in the *Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy* (Murphy Commission), Appendix L, June, 1975, pp. 58-65.

[6] Letter from William M. Capron to Senator Frank Church, quoted in "Eating Crow at Mike's," *Washington Monthly*, September, 1970, p. 50.

[7] For a detailed description of this "revolution," see Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, *Foreign Policy by Congress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). For a careful, sympathetic analysis of how one of its major products has worked out in practice, see US Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, "The War Powers Resolution," committee print by John H. Sullivan (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982).

[8] There was even a third Fulbright formulation, arguing for "leaving to the executive the necessary flexibility to conduct policy within the broad parameters approved by the legislature." See J. William Fulbright, "The Legislator as Educator," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring, 1979): 726.

limitation treaty (known as SALT II) never made it to the Senate floor, even though it (like the trade package) was the product of seven years of negotiation, most of it under the Nixon and Ford administrations.[9] Once again, the question was whether the United States could operate effectively in the international arena if its legislature tied the executive's hand or rewrote painfully negotiated accords. And following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979, Congress in fact eased certain restrictions on presidential flexibility. But the political-military aggressiveness of the Reagan administration triggered yet another reaction, as Congress sought to constrain its Central American operations and to soften its arms control posture vis-a-vis Moscow.

In significant part, this flowing and ebbing of congressional standing is a function of two factors: substantive pressures and the presence or absence of crisis. Many who write on such matters are moderate liberals in orientation; hence some shift back to an executive orientation was predictable once Vietnam was behind us and the White House returned to Democratic hands. Conversely, Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.)--who opposed the War Powers Resolution as an intrusion on needed presidential authority--argued vainly in court that it was unconstitutional for President Carter to withdraw the United States from its security treaty with Taiwan without congressional assent. The second factor, crisis, usually reinforces presidential power and the argument that the president needs the flexibility to respond.

But the deeper cause of congressional - executive conflict is a core political - procedural dilemma. Americans often want two things that prove incompatible in practice: *democratic government* (involving on-going competition among a range of US interests and perspectives) and *effective foreign policy* (which requires settling on specific goals and pursuing them consistently). To reconcile these two competing needs insofar as they can be reconciled, the framers of the Constitution established, in Richard Neustadt's apt phrase, a government of "separated institutions sharing powers."[10]

It is an oversimplification to say that the executive represents policy coherence in any pure sense, or that the legislature is a pure decentralized democracy. The Congress, or portions thereof, can take purposive decisions, as happened on Indochina and Watergate in 1973 and 1974. And the executive is typically divided in opinion and interest. Moreover, most foreign policy issues do not involve a simple, two-sided struggle between the executive and Congress; the typical pattern is rather one of policy advocates in one branch working with allies in the other against executive and legislative officials with opposing views. But the executive and the Congress are "separated institutions." These two primary arenas in American foreign policy have distinct characters.

---

[9] See I. M. Destler, "Trade Consensus, SALT Stalemate: Congress and Foreign Policy in the Seventies," in *The New Congress*, ed. Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981).
[10] Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (New York: Signet, 1964), p.42.

In general the genius of Congress is democracy, diversity, debate. Often Congress nurtures creativity. Nelson Polsby describes the Senate as "a great incubator of policy innovation in the American system," and Alton Frye emphasizes the "policy entrepreneurship" role.[11] The executive, by contrast, offers the hierarchy and concentrated formal authority that make coherent policy execution at least possible. What Alexander Hamilton called "energy in the executive" is particularly important to the conduct of foreign policy[12] in periods when the United States is conducting an activist foreign policy--the case since 1940--there is a need for "decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch" which only the president and his senior advisors can supply.[13]

Because executive - congressional conflict reflects a deep tension among core values, it has no simple solution. Yet it demands deeper analysis, both for those seeking to understand the conflict and those responsible for coping with it in the executive - legislative arena. The place to begin, of course, is the Constitution, which gives both the president and the Congress authorities that influence policy on particular issues. Conflict results from differing views about policy goals or means and efforts to advance those views by employing these authorities. The two branches do not come to the battle equally armed, however. The executive generally has the initiative. One reason is that the president has particular constitutional powers in foreign policy: to negotiate treaties, to command the armed forces, and to appoint and receive ambassadors. Conflict arises when senators and representatives seek to use congressional powers--over appropriations, general legislation, treaties, appointments--to control or constrain the president and the executive in their exercise of foreign policy discretion.

* * *

---

[11] Nelson W. Polsby, "Policy Initiation in the American political System," in *Perspectives on the Presidency*, ed. Aaron Wildavsky (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1975), p. 229; and Alton Frye, "Congress and President: The Balance Wheels of American Foreign Policy," *Yale Review* 69 (Autumn 1979): 6-7.

[12] Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Modern Library), no. 70, p. 454.

[13] Ibid., p. 455.

In the excerpt below, Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf examine the role that the media plays in the making of United States foreign policy. The effect on the general public as well as on the decision makers is examined in this brief piece.

Societal Sources of American Foreign Policy

by Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene Wittkopf*

By way of conclusion, we are left with the inescapable impression that the mass media play a mediating role in the foreign policy-making process. Although the mass media, through their agenda-setting and gatekeeper functions, condition the way Americans think about foreign affairs only indirectly, they affect more directly the way elite groups perceive the world. Thus they influence the course of US action abroad to the extent that they are able to color the way policy makers, policy influentials, the attentive public, and opinion leaders see the world. When new information enters into the thinking of elite groups and stimulates a change in the of the attitudes of that stratum of American society that pays attention, then those attitudes gradually affect the way the mass public thinks about foreign affairs. At the same time, the governing elite seeks to use the media to manage the view of the world that various segments of the public hold--an effort which itself attests to the perceived political importance of the media.

As we have seen, however, the impact is neither immediate nor direct. On the one hand, American diplomacy may be said to be dependent on the media in the sense that "a large proportion of diplomatic reporting consists of analysis based on the work of journalists. . . [I]t is only a slight exaggeration to say that the mass media are the eyes and ears of diplomacy" (Davison, 1976). But on the other hand, that diplomacy does not give the media control over US foreign policy. The media enter into the policy-formation process; but they are less a source from which policy is derived than a cog in the machinery that produces policy decisions and foreign actions.

Thus, the question posed at the outset of this (and the preceding) chapters--"In what ways do societal factors influence American foreign policy?"--has invited a series of additional questions, and, inevitably, provoked a variety of answers. Examination of the potential impact of public opinion, presidential elections, and the mass media suggests that each of these societal factors does indeed intrude upon the policy-making process, and thus each serves as a source of American foreign policy. US action abroad has indeed been shaped by each one of these factors, by variations in them, and by how they function in the policy-formation process. But the functions they perform explain more about the process of formulating American policies toward the external environment than they do about the kinds of

---

* Excerpted with permission from Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf; *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 3rd Edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987) pp. 328-9.

objectives those actions are based on and the particular means chosen to realize them. The effect of the societal factors we have discussed here in generating foreign actions is rarely if ever direct; it seems, instead, they function simply as part of the context within which decisions are formulated, and in particular, they function more often as forces constraining foreign policy, thereby promoting persistence and continuity, than as forces stimulating radical departures from the past. Hence, if we assume, for example, that the anti-communist theme in American foreign policy springs naturally out of the Lockean liberal tradition described in the preceding chapter, the way in which the forces we have described in this chapter operate in the policy-making process should make clear why rapid movements away from the traditional anti-communist posture are unlikely. More generally, when we add to this the knowledge we have of the effects of the elitist foreign policy-making community and the consequences of pluralized interest-group interactions, it should not be surprising that incremental adaptations to evolving international circumstances are more characteristic of postwar American foreign policy than radical innovations.

Beyond this, however, it is difficult to isolate causal connections between particular societal variables and particular actions abroad. To pinpoint better the sources of American foreign policy decisions and initiatives, we need to turn from the consideration of factors within American society to an examination of the US government from which most foreign policy initiatives spring.

* * *

In this final selection, Landrum Bolling details how citizens have become involved in the foreign policy process. The Citizen can see that he or she can make a difference, and become effective in the foreign policy process.

Private Interventions in Foreign Policy

by Landrum R. Bolling*

In the United States the formulation of foreign policy and the conduct of international relations have always been very untidy business, complicated by special problems. Some of our difficulties stem from the fact that the United States has felt obliged to assume leadership in a chaotic world filled with recurring dilemmas. Some arise out of the rapid worldwide changes brought about by the scientific and technological revolution. Historically, many US foreign policy problems have related to our constitutional system and the patterns of our political practice, and many of our uncertainties and conflicts over foreign relations have reflected the vast pluralism of American society with its many ethnic, religious, and national strains.

---

* Reprinted with permission from the *Kettering Review*, Winter 1983, pp. 38-41.

US Foreign Policy: A Game With Many Players

On almost every foreign policy issue, there are many US players, official and nonofficial, and not all of them have the same interests and purposes. Within any administration, competing forces and personalities vie for influence in shaping and implementing policies. Between the Congress and the executive branch there is continuous negotiation about foreign affairs and, at times, struggle. Sometimes Congress interposes its will, setting aside policies carefully worked out with other countries after prolonged negotiations; the Senate's role in ratifying treaties and confirming ambassadors and other high foreign-service officials and the role of both houses of approving appropriations give Congress remarkable powers to affect US relations with other countries. In addition, the positions of individual legislators which are ultimately expressed in the acts of Congress are always subject to pressures from private citizens, and often these pressures are decisive.

Americans tend to assume that they have an inalienable right to exert pressure on Congress and elected officials with respect to almost every conceivable international issue: the importation of beef or calculators, the export of soybeans or coal, arms supplies to Israel or Saudi Arabia, credit policies toward the Soviet Union, relief and assistance to Third World countries, mutual defence agreements with our Western European allies, immigration from Latin America, cultural exchanges with China, and the control and reduction of nuclear weapons. The list is endless, and the techniques for exerting pressure are becoming increasingly sophisticated.

Ethnic and Religious Influences: As American As Apple Pie

Complicating this situation is the fact that, far from being the melting pot that politicians and textbook writers used to imagine it, the United States is made up of an overlapping collection of ethnic enclaves, not too distinctly defined and certainly not geographically confined or ideologically monolithic. These loosely dispersed communities of blood and memory contain self-conscious and sometimes highly aggressive, politically activist organizations committed to those ethnic interests and, in varying measure, to the foreign countries with which they identify. Millions of Americans see the US national interest in any given situation through the tinted spectacles of their own racial, religious, and ethnic traditions and loyalties. This is natural, inescapable, and as American as apple pie.

From one point of view, we might say that's the way the system is supposed to work. Yet there are times when allowing one activist group to determine American foreign policy with regard to a particular country or its policies may not be at all in the US national interest. Nor can we count on sound national policy to emerge from the trade-offs between competing blocs. Every president attempts to articulate and carry out a foreign policy truly attuned to the national interest, but that is never easy, given the checks and balances of our constitutional system and the ethnic pluralism of the American people.

Private Diplomacy: A Fact of History

Any serious cataloguing of our myriad involvements with other peoples quickly documents the fact that official diplomacy, central as it is in the carrying out of our foreign policy, is only a limited portion of our total international relationships. Private individuals and organized groups in business, religion, education, arts, sports, and scientific endeavors play enormously important roles in setting the tone and shaping much of the content of our dealings with other countries.

Long before the Peace Corps was dreamed of, long before governmental foreign aid had been proposed, private volunteers, sent out by a wide variety of denominational groups, were establishing schools and colleges, hospitals and demonstration farms over the broad reaches of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the scattered islands of the Pacific. They and their ways of life, for better or for worse, came to symbolize America for millions of people who had never seen an ambassador or a consul, and they exerted important influences, both intentional and unintentional, on US international relations. So private influence on America's international relationships is a fact of life, well established in history.

Modern "Nonofficial" Diplomacy: Two Personal Experiences

Of all the kinds of private intervention in the field of foreign relations, however, none is more delicate, more risky, or perhaps, more promising than what is sometimes called "nonofficial diplomacy." Those of us who have engaged in activities that fit in this category shy away from the term "private diplomacy"; we'd prefer some more modest description such as "private channels for intergovernmental communication." But, whatever you call it, it is a challenging exercise in international relations.

One such enterprise in which I have been privileged to participate over the last eight years is the Soviet-American Dartmouth Conference series, conversations long sponsored by the Kettering Foundation and endorsed by both Soviet and American governments. These have been broad-ranging discussions on such issues as disarmament, trade relations, scientific and cultural exchanges, cooperation and competition in areas of regional conflict such as the Middle East, and development problems in the Third World.

Although we American participants have usually taken for granted that we are receiving the straight "Kremlin line" on issues discussed in these conferences, we have nevertheless detected, on occasion, some ambiguities, uncertainties, and slight openings for give and take. For our own part, despite the fact that in general our viewpoints are sympathetic to US government positions, we have also been free, independent, private citizens, differing at times among ourselves and not always supportive of official positions.

We have never been able to sure about the degree of effect our Dartmouth discussions may have had upon the thinking and policy making of our respective governments. "Not very much," is probably the only safe answer. And yet we have had the strong conviction that this channel of

communication is important to keep open, through all the ups and downs of Soviet-American tensions. Those who have participated have learned much, and we symbolize a willingness and desire to talk. Successive US administrations have encouraged us to keep on talking. A second experience in "nonofficial" diplomacy began in 1968. Under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, I was drawn into an endeavor in the Middle East, where there have been numerous endeavors by private individuals and groups to promote communication between the Israelis and their Arab antagonists, including the PLO. Fear, suspicion, distrust, and hatred are endemic on both sides of this dispute. Official negotiations are complicated, tedious, legalistic, and often unproductive. Sometimes--as between Israel and the PLO--they can be undertaken only indirectly with neither side admitting that it is, in fact, negotiating with the other. Any mediator, whether governmental or private, is likely to be denounced by both sides.

When I first became involved in the Middle East, it was as a kind of messenger boy, shuttling between the Israelis and various Arab representatives. As a messenger, I found that each side was terribly curious about what people on the other side were saying, but both sides were highly distrustful of any reporting of the desires or intentions of their antagonists, whether through government or private channels. Nonetheless, it seemed clear that the existence of a private channel was welcomed and valued by both.

Twin Imperatives for US International Education: Broader Understanding and Leadership Competence

Both of these experiences have served to strengthen my conviction that two of the great imperatives for American education are: (1) to try harder to develop within the general population a broader understanding of US international relations, and (2) to train leadership groups in politics, business, the media, and other areas of our public life in international affairs. Instruction in the nature of other cultures, other social and political systems, and the human experience of other peoples must begin in early childhood and should be continued through all the later levels of formal education. This is a slow and lengthy task, but we ought to be working at it more persistently, more energetically, and with more imagination. If a democratic society is to wield influence in a world commensurate with its power and its interests, its citizens must be informed on world affairs. For the United States that need is greater than it has ever been.

There are complications and hazards to the exercise of private diplomacy. But in an imperfect world of tensions and conflict, the parties involved need all the help they can get in learning about the attitudes and assumptions of those who oppose them. Private communicators can help. In the course of listening to both sides, trying hard to hear what each side is saying, the private intermediary learns more about international relations than will ever be available to him in books.

* * *

III. Discussion Questions

The following questions will serve as a starting point for discussing the making of United States Foreign Policy.

- What is the role of the president in making foreign policy?
- What is the role of Congress in making foreign policy?
- What is the role of the Executive Branch agencies in making foreign policy?
- How can citizens affect foreign policy making?
- Discuss the checks and balances that exist between the president and Congress with regard to the making of foreign policy.
- Does the current system for making foreign policy resemble what the founding fathers foresaw as the way in which foreign policy should be made? What changes should be made to the existing system to increase its efficiency?
- How can interest groups and the media affect foreign policy making?
- Should there be a greater role in the making of foreign policy for the citizenry?
- Does the Constitution provide guidelines for making foreign policy? If so, what are these guidelines, and are they as applicable to events today as they were when the Founding Fathers wrote them?
- Discuss the events surrounding the Iran-Contra Affair. Did President Reagan overstep his foreign policy authority in funding the Contra rebels, and negotiating with the Iranian Government?

IV. Program and Curriculum Ideas

The following is a list of activities and projects designed to enhance learning about the making of foreign policy in the United States.

... For schools

- Using the United States Constitution and the diagram of the *concentric circles* of foreign policy, presented on page 2 of this Resource Packet, have students demonstrate how the Constitution establishes the *concentric circles*.

- Conduct a foreign policy simulation in your classroom. Appoint students to various positions in the executive branch, Congress, the media, public interest groups, and as citizens. Let them act out the foreign policy process according to the rules set out by the Constitution.

- Using a daily newspaper, preferably the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or *Los Angeles Times*, have students find stories that relate to the making of U.S. foreign policy. Have groups of students choose different stories and find the roles that the president, Congress, executive branch agencies, public interest groups, and citizens play in the policy making process.

... For youth programs

- Invite a reporter from a local newspaper, who has covered foreign affairs or national politics, to discuss the foreign policy making process in Washington, DC.

- Using the U.S. Constitution and a newspaper have the group pick a current international problem that affects the United States. Ask the group to identify some of the powers that the president, Congress, and the Citizenry can utilize to solve the problem. The Constitution will be useful in identifying the basis for the powers. Discuss the solutions as a group. Which is most viable? Are there steps the group can take, acting in their roles as citizens, to solve the problem.

- Have the group discuss the nature of foreign policy, and a particular international problem of interest. Have the members go into the community and ask 10 adults about the problem and how they believe it should be solved. At your next meeting have the members discuss the reactions they received. Were the adults interested in foreign policy? Did they know anything about the process or the current events discussed? If they were not interested, why was this the case?

...For community programs

- Form a study group to analyze the making of U.S. foreign policy in various regions of the world (Latin America, Asia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe/Soviet Union). Ask the group to discuss how the making of foreign policy may change as a result of the changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe and other parts of the World.

- Hold a community forum to discuss the making of foreign policy in the United States, and target a specific current problem in United States foreign policy, such as Central America, Eastern Europe, or South Africa. Invite your Congressman, and representatives from the media and public interest groups to participate and offer their insight.

- Form a public interest group in your community to influence policy makers on a foreign policy issue of importance to your community. Have members research the issue, hold community forums, contact Representatives and Senators, and other government officials to make their views on the issue known.

...For higher education

- Using the writings of Hamilton, Madison, and other Founding Fathers, debate their original intentions concerning the making of foreign policy in the United States. Compare these intentions to current foreign policy making practices in the United States. How do they differ?

- Create a foreign policy making simulation. Give students roles ranging from president to public interest groups, to citizens, to representatives from foreign governments and simulate the foreign policy making process. The simulation should include unforseen changes in the variables, that can be added by the teacher in charge..

- Have students select a current or historical foreign policy issue. Using at least two newspapers, have the students compare newspaper coverage of the issue. Students should try to discover whether the media played a role in making the policy that emerged, as well as whether various papers covered the story differently. Students should also note the various roles that each of the actors (president, Congress, media, interest groups, executive branch agencies, and the citizens) played in the policy making process.

V. Suggested Readings and Other Materials

Readings

For those who wish to learn more about the making of United States foreign policy, the following list provides a sample of the materials available.

- Howard Bliss and M. Glen Johnson; *Beyond the Water's Edge: America's Foreign Policies*, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company.
- Charles C. Bright and Susan F. Harding (eds.), *Statemaking and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*, University of Michigan Press, 1984.
- R. Freeman Butts, *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century*, Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1988.
- Alexis de Tocqueville; *Democracy in America*. George Lawrence, translator, J.P. Mayer, editor, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Perennial Library edition, 1988.
- Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds.; *Congress Reconsidered*, 3rd Edition, Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985.
- Alvin Paul Drischler; "Foreign Policy Making on the Hill," *Washington Quarterly 8*, Summer 1985.
- Lee H. Hamilton; "Congress and the Presidency in American Foreign Policy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume XVIII, Number 3, Summer 1988.
- Charles W. Kegley, and Patrick J. McGowan, editors; *Challenge to America – U.S. Foreign Policy in the 1980s*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979.
- Charles W. Kegley, and Eugene Wittkopf; *Perspectives on American Foreign Policy*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Charles W. Kegley, and Eugene Wittkopf; *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 3rd edition, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- John Lehman; *The Executive, Congress and Foreign Policy: Studies of the Nixon Administration*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*.
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

- James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* in J.R. Pole, ed., *The American Constitution —for and against: the Federalist and Anti-Federalist Papers*, New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987.

- _____; *Making Foreign Policy*, Washington, DC: Editorial Research Reports, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1988.

- Ward Morehouse, *A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence,* Aspen Institute, Princeton, New Jersey, October, 1975.

- Hans J. Morgenthau; "The Founding Fathers and Foreign Policy: Implications for the Late Twentieth Century, *Orbis, A Journal of World Affairs*, Volume 20, Number 1, Spring 1976.

- James A. Nathan; James K Oliver; *Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System*, 2nd edition, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987.

- John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy, *Lessons on the Constitution: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government, and Civics*, Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1987.

- Hoyt Purvis, and Stephen J. Baker; *Legislating Foreign Policy*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

- John T. Rourke and Russell Farnen; "War, Presidents, and the Constitution," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume XVIII, Number 3, Summer 1988.

- Bruce Russett, Donald De Luca; "Don't Tread on Me: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in the Eighties, *Political Science Quarterly 96*, Fall 1981.

- Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.; *The Imperial Presidency*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989.

- Allen Wallis; "Economists and Foreign Policy Makers: Arthur F. Burns Memorial Lecture,"*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume XVIII, Number 3, Summer 1988.

- Francis O. Wilcox; *Congress, The Executive and Foreign Policy*, New York: Published for the Council of Foreign Relations by Harper & Row Publishers, 1971.

Other Materials

- Mary E. Soley, Jacquelyn S. Johnson, and Barbara Miller; "Teacher's Resource Guide: Lessons on Current U.S. Foreign Policy Issues for Secondary Social Studies Courses," New York: Foreign Policy Association. The Foreign Policy Association also publishes *Great Decisions*, an educational discussion resource on current international issues for teachers, students, and community groups. The Headline series contains short books on issue of foreign policy. All of these can be obtained by contacting the Foreign Policy Association, 212/764-4051

- "Citizenship in the 21st Century," teleconference videotape, National Council for the Social Studies. Topics include: "Citizenship in a Multicultural Society," "Citizenship in a Global Environment," "Citizenship in a Technological Information Society," "Citizenship Education," Washington, DC, November 1989. For further information contact: National Council for the Social Studies, 3501 Newark Street, NW, Washington, DC 20016, 202/966-7840.

- *Simulations for a Global Perspective* (Intercom 107 1985)
For grades 7-12, this resource presents several complete simulation games, including "Spaceship Earth," to help develop global awareness. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.

- *The New Global Yellow Pages*. A resource directory listing 172 organizations and projects that provide services related to global/international education. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.

- *The New Global Resource Book*. A resource directory of materials available on a broad range of global/international topics with annotated listings of books, curriculum materials, and audiovisual materials. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.

- *The National Security Series*. A seven book series on national security education published by the Mershon Center's Citizenship Development for a Global Age program. Five of the books contain a total of nearly 150 classroom lessons on national security topics to supplement basic high school social studies courses. For further information contact: Richard Remy, The Mershon Center, 199 W. 10th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

- *The United States and the Soviet Union: Looking to the Future*. This curriculum asks students to consider fundamental questions about U.S. foreign policy in the coming decades. It will challenge the students to carefully examine the pros and cons, the risks and trade-offs, and the possible outcomes of alternative foreign policies. The program, designed as a two-four week unit, uses a model of four comprehensive scenarios for U.S.-Soviet Relations in the year 2010. For further information contact Susan Graseck, Center for Foreign Policy Development, Brown University, P.O. Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912, 401/863-3465.

VI. Organizations with Related Resources

The following organizations publish materials that address issues related to the making of United States foreign policy and other citizenship education topics.

American Association of University Women
2401 Virginia Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20037
202/875-7700

American Federation of Teachers*
55 New Jersey Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202/879-4400

The American Forum for Global Education
45 John Street, Suite 1200
New York, NY 10038
212/732-8606

Amnesty International
322 8th Avenue
New York, NY 10001
202/544-0200 (Washington area office)

Center for Civic Education*
5146 Douglas Fir Rd.
Calabasas, CA 91302
818/340-9320

Center for Foreign Policy Development
Brown University
P.O. Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912
401/863-3465

Center for Teaching International Relations
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208
303/871-3106

Close Up Foundation*
1235 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, VA 22202
703/892-5400

Constitutional Rights Foundation*
601 S. Kingsley Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90005
213/847-5590

Ethics and Public Policy Center
1030 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/682-1200

Foreign Policy Association*
1800 M Street, NW Suite 800
Washington, DC 20036
202/293-0046

Kettering Foundation*
200 Commons Road
Dayton, OH 45459
800/221-3657

League of Women Voters
1730 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/429-1965

Mershon Center*
Ohio State University
199 W. 10th Ave.
Columbus, OH 43201
614/292-1681

Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada*
15 Eddy Street, Room 13C11
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0M5
819/994-2869

National Education Association*
1201 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/833-7000

SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security
711 G Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
202/546-7100

Social Studies Development Center/ Indiana University*
2805 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, IN 47405
812/855-3838

United Nations Association of the USA
Model UN and Youth Programs
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104
212/697-3232

Word Without War Council*
1730 Martin Luther King, Jr. Way
Berkeley, CA 94709
415/845-1992

United States Institute of Peace
1550 M Street, Suite 700 NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/457-1700

*Organizational member of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship